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THE LABOUR PARTY AND CENTRAL AFRICA

By JAMES CALLAGHAN, M.P.

THE political struggle in Central Africa between the African Affairs Board and the Federation Government as to whether the Constitution Amendment Bill is or is not discriminatory against Africans will shortly be debated in the House of Commons.¹ The Draft Order in Council is laid before the British Parliament and awaits the Assent of the Crown.

The Labour Party has decided to take the unprecedented step of opposing this Draft Order in Council. The fact that this is the first time in history that this has been done underlines the extremely serious implications of the proposals.

The Bill itself increases the size of the Federal Assembly which, under the 1953 Constitution, was limited to 35 members. This is made up of 26 elected members, race unspecified, but who are all Europeans; and 9 representatives of African interests, some of whom are elected Africans and others of whom are nominated or elected Europeans to look after African interests.

The new Bill which is now before Parliament for approval or otherwise, provides for an increase in the size of the Federal Assembly to 59 members, of whom 44 will be of unspecified race, and 15 either elected Africans, or Europeans elected or nominated to represent African interests.

The ostensible purpose of the legislation is to enable the Assembly to function better as a Parliament. It is said, with justification, that it is difficult to draw Ministers, Government supporters and an Opposition from among 35 members, and that if the number is increased substantially to 59, something more like the Party system will grow.

Taken by itself in isolation, this is unexceptionable. Nevertheless, it seems to me extremely doubtful whether the Federal Assembly is morally entitled to enlarge its size in advance of the review of the Constitution that is due to take place between 1960 and 1962. These difficulties were presumably foreseen when the original Constitution was drawn up in

1953; and it would be no great hardship for the Assembly to remain at its present size until the review takes place.

These doubts become major objections when the nature of the alterations is examined. In judging the proposals, it is as important to see how the new members will be elected as it is to know how many of them there are going to be. Unfortunately, the Constitutional Amendment Bill does not contain this information. A Draft Franchise Bill has been prepared which will be submitted to the Federal Assembly if and when the Constitutional Amendment Bill receives the Royal Assent. This second Bill will deal with the qualifications and registration of voters, their electoral districts and the general regulation of elections. The House of Commons is now to be required to take a decision on the Constitutional Amendment Bill without having the advantage of knowing the final form of the franchise proposals. However, the Federal Government has very properly taken the course of publishing its proposals for the franchise, although they are unable to introduce the Bill into the Federal Assembly.

These franchise proposals have yet to receive a second reading in the Federal Assembly, and no one can say how they are likely to be amended during their progress through the committee stage.

Therefore, we must judge them as they appear at the present time and, on that basis, no one can claim that they constitute a liberal franchise, although they do for the first time allow a British Protected Person to vote. But, at the same time, they weaken the very protection of the minority African voter that was especially written into the original Constitution.

There are to be two voters' lists and, theoretically at any rate, both Africans and Europeans can be registered on either list, provided they have the necessary qualifications. But, in fact, these qualifications are such that one of the voters' lists, to be called the general roll, will be made up overwhelmingly of European voters; the other voters' list, to be called the special roll, will contain African voters, principally.

¹ This article was written before the debate took place on 25th November. The debate will be reported in the January issue of VENTURE.

Those on the general roll will elect 44 members, who are to be unspecified by race. Like the door of the Ritz Hotel, the roll itself and candidature for the Assembly will be open to all—and with much the same result.

The special roll voters, mainly African, will be allowed to vote only for the African candidates. Apart from the wide discrepancy in the numbers of 'unspecified' (that is European) and African representatives—44 to 15—this might not appear to make the position much worse than it was before; but here is the catch. The special roll African voters who will be voting for African members, will be joined in their elections by those on the general roll, who are mainly Europeans. This has not been so previously.

For the first time, the Europeans will have a large voice in the election not only of their 'unspecified' 44 members, but also in the election of eight of the 12 African members and one of the three Europeans representing African interests.

No one can say how many European and African voters there will be on each of the two voting lists. But it can be said with certainty that, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, when the lists are added together, European voters will heavily outnumber African voters; in Northern Rhodesia, it is certain that the Europeans will be in the majority; in Nyasaland there may be parity between European and African voters.

Let me emphasise in this connection that we are now discussing only the election of the handful of African members and not the 44 unspecified members, who will be elected separately by an overwhelming European majority.

One-Sided Argument

Faced with this situation, the Africans have reacted fiercely against the proposals, because they rightly claim that this dilution by European votes will worsen the prospects of Africans being free to elect candidates of their own choice. The proposal is justified by the Federal Government on the ground that it is a step away from racial elections. But in that case, why limit the reform to the election of Africans only? The argument would be more acceptable if the Africans were given a substantial voice in the election of the 44 unspecified members: in other words, they should work towards a common roll. But in fact, the number of Africans concerned in the election of the 44 members is infinitesimal.

Other provisions of which African opinion is naturally suspicious relate to the qualifications for voting. As they stand at present, an African with certain educational standards and an income of £150 p.a. (or in some cases £120 p.a.) will be entitled to vote on the special, but not the general roll. This is high enough in all conscience in a land where £6 per month is a good wage. But under the Government's proposals they will have powers to adjust these sums in accordance with any rise or fall in the value of money. The Africans naturally believe that this will be used to prevent substantial numbers of them getting the vote on the special roll.

Another provision to which exception is taken is that if an African is ever elected as one of the 'unspecified' members, then one of the specially elected African seats disappears and the number of 'unspecified' seats is correspondingly increased. Another weakness is that any of the African members most of whom will now be elected by a majority of Europeans could become members of the African Affairs Board, whose task is to safeguard the interests of the Africans in the Federation.

A serious feature of the present situation is that the African Affairs Board which ruled that the Constitutional Amendment Bill was discriminatory against Africans, should have had its opinions set aside by the British Government. Considerable importance was attached to this Board in the discussions that led up to the 1953 Constitution and its functions and membership were written into the original Constitution. This Bill is the first occasion since the Federation came into being that the African Affairs Board has ruled that legislation is discriminatory. The fact that the British Government has overruled the African Affairs Board has convinced many Africans that they were right to suspect that it would not be a bulwark against discrimination.

These proposed constitutional changes are all paving the way to a demand for Dominion status in the 1960-1962 Conference. The Federal Government is anxious to get control of African policy in Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland. Everywhere in the Federation we met with fierce resistance from the Africans in those territories to such a suggestion. They pointed out that the Preamble to the Constitution, which was freely entered into by all those who took part in the negotiations before 1953, says:—

'Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue, under the special protection of Her Majesty' to enjoy separate Governments for so long as their respective peoples so desire, those Governments remaining responsible . . . for, in particular, the control of land in those territories, and for the local and territorial political advancement of the peoples thereof;'

On behalf of the Labour Movement, I had no hesitation, when I was in the Federation, in insisting that we could not set aside such a solemn pledge. There is little doubt that even if the claim for Dominion status is not pressed in 1960-1962, the conference that is then to be held to review the Constitution, will be difficult.

There has been great economic progress as a result of Federation, but no one can claim that the political roots of the Federation are established. It does not command the loyalty of the Africans: indeed, in Northern Rhodesia and especially in Nyasaland, there is fierce opposition to the idea among politically articulate Africans, and apathy among the remainder. To concede Dominion status in the face of this would be to erect a superstructure on an unsure foundation. Nevertheless, a number of Europeans, whilst admitting that the situation is unstable, are ready to go ahead. They feel that it is impossible to win the support of the Africans to the idea of Federation and that the European claim to

Dominion status is as strong as that of Ghana or Malaya. They did not respond to the argument, which I advanced frequently, that they were claiming more than the right to govern themselves: they are, in fact, claiming the right to govern millions of Africans who have no desire to be placed under their protection.

Our aim should be to reconcile the admitted economic benefits brought about by Federation with the political aspirations of the majority of the peoples in those territories. This can best be attempted by making bold advances towards internal self-government in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This means a substantial expansion of the territorial franchise for which Britain still has responsibility and, within a comparatively short time, an African majority in the Legislative Assemblies, which should remain under the control of the Colonial Office.

In fairness I must add that a number of Europeans living in the territories are not enthusiastic about Dominion status. They believe that it would only add to the existing political instability, and they see the situation much as we do. But, alas, they are not in the majority.

Comment

KENYA CONSTITUTION

AN imposed solution to the constitutional deadlock in Kenya is probably the only way out. The resignations of the elected Ministers enabled Mr. Lennox-Boyd to present proposals which mark a genuine advance for the Africans. They had asked for fifteen additional seats. They are offered six extra elected members and one nominated one for the Northern province. But the Europeans are to lose two so-called corporate seats in 1960. With fourteen elected members the Africans will have parity in elected membership with the Europeans, but not, as they had hoped, with all other races combined. This goes a long way towards diminishing settler domination, while at the same time it gives the Asians a balancing position of much influence.

In addition to the elected members, there is the novel proposal for twelve "selected" members, four from each race, to be elected by secret ballot by the Legislative Council, presumably on the aldermanic principle, which allows persons inside or outside the chamber to be nominated. The twelve members will be elected by their fellow members of all races, which achieves the object of giving moderate men a chance. No extra communal seats are to be established and the racial proportions for the selected members are to remain unchanged for ten years. This is the only time freeze proposed. The way is left open for possible future elected members on a common roll basis.

The Government reserves the right to create extra official seats, so as to maintain an official

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majority, if required. And the Colonial Secretary stated categorically that ultimate control in Kenya would have to rest with the Colonial Office 'for the foreseeable future.'

The Ministerial set-up is to remain unchanged, with four European, two Asian and two African elected Ministers and two Africans, one Asian and one Arab as Assistant Ministers. The balance of portfolios proposed is not unfavourable to the Africans, and although the position will change rapidly, at the moment the number suggested is not unreasonable.

As Mr. Mboya and his colleagues agree that an interim stage towards full democracy is essential, why have they rejected the Lennox-Boyd proposals out of hand? There is one solid reason for rejection. There is a sting in the tail, a proposed new Council of State. Mr. Lennox-Boyd admits that he has not thought out the details of this peculiar body, which is to have 'powers of delay, revision, and reference.' The Europeans rejoice and the Africans have every right to be intensely suspicious. As long as the Colonial Secretary has the last word, such a device is unnecessary. European enthusiasm means that they believe that they secure in a second chamber what they have lost in the Legislative Council.

There are suggestions that this Council should meet *ad hoc* and not be in continuous session. If this meant that nothing more was proposed than a Kenya European equivalent to the African Affairs Board in Central Africa, with power to ask that legislation which appeared discriminatory should be referred to London, one could accept it as a sop to the settlers. But from Kenya comment, much more is intended. Power to delay is doubtful and power to revise could be extremely dangerous and might block any number of necessary reforms.

On the Council of State, African intransigence, which has paid dividends so far, deserves strong support. The Africans should also reserve their right to reopen later negotiations on the number of Ministers. In the new situation, they could also fairly say that there is no justification for the special African qualitative franchise for the communal seats.

By their efforts to convince supporters that they have won a moral victory and by their intrigue, of which the African members are much better informed than their European colleagues suppose, the Europeans are encouraging Mr. Mboya to carry intransigence beyond these points. He should not allow himself to be provoked. African interests will best be served by accepting the other proposals, on an interim basis, as a real advance. One can learn to govern only by experience and to stay outside government is to waste opportunities. On the Council of State issue in particular,

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Mr. Mboya can count on full support from Labour benches at Westminster. But he should not delude himself or his followers into thinking that he will improve his position under any future Labour government if he now shows himself to be completely negative on all other points and refuses to take the advantages offered to him. The constitution will be put into force, whether the Africans accept it or not. Ten more Africans will become members of Legislative Council. Mr. Mboya will always be outstanding, but he will then face stronger competition. He should show statesmanship now and secure for himself the respect and support of the other Africans who may be his colleagues and of the liberal Asian and European elements who can do much to help the Africans in this difficult interim period. It is said that he does not wish to take office himself. That may be wise at this stage, when the Africans need a strong communal spokesman. But it is essential that competent African voices should be heard in the Council of Ministers, where policy for all races is so largely determined, even though the final word may rest in Whitehall.

WEST INDIAN ELECTIONS

DURING the last few weeks a succession of elections have been held to the Legislative Councils of various West Indian islands. In St. Lucia the Labour Party has increased its representation from six to seven of the eight elective seats. In Dominica the young Dominican Labour Party, fighting elections for the first time, won three seats. The Party in Grenada lost its majority and its control of the Government by retaining only two seats. In St. Vincent one party called itself a Labour Party, but none of its members was returned. The St. Kitts Party, having for many years held all eight seats, lost three of them but still retains a majority.

A number of deductions can be drawn from these various elections. In the first place, it is clear that the only serious common political force in the British West Indies is the Labour Movement. This fact is of extreme importance to the Federal Elections of next March. The Federal Labour Party has sound foundations on which to build, though serious weaknesses in certain islands. Grenada and St. Vincent should certainly give it cause for concern.

The second fact to emerge is that personality is still a very important consideration in West Indian politics. In Grenada the failure of Mr. Gairy as an administrator and political leader has led to disrepute for his whole party. In St. Vincent the popularity of Mr. Joshua in spite of his unpredictable and anti-labour politics was the deciding factor in the campaign.

The third lesson to be learnt is that West Indian

electorates are becoming more mature and beginning to judge by actions rather than words. The strength of administration in the Leewards as compared with the Windwards is due to good organisation based upon determined Labour policy. This lesson will have been well learnt in St. Kitts, where the Party lost its seats in Nevis and Anguilla through neglect of local needs. It should be observed also in St. Lucia where the resounding electoral victory must be followed by strong united administration. It could encourage our comrades in Dominica to build up their Party, based on policy, in contrast to the local personal appeal of individual independents.

All these lessons will be closely considered by the Federal Party. Its success, not only in the elections but as a Government, will depend upon first producing a virile positive policy; secondly, on securing strong candidates of integrity to put it into effect; and thirdly, on strengthening the local island parties which compose it. We in Britain and our friends throughout the Commonwealth are looking to this Party to prove that socialism can meet the difficult problems facing the peoples of the Caribbean.

GHANA EMERGENCY BILL

DEMOCRATIC socialists will welcome the character of the Emergency Powers Bill just published in Ghana. Many of us have been worried that some of the recent statements of Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of the Interior, might indicate a weakening of the democratic spirit in this nation which is pioneering African independence. Much of the reporting and commenting in the British press on recent events in Ghana has been malicious. It has taken the same trend as that found in the same sections of the press towards independent India. Of course a people who become independent, though naturally sensitive, must be prepared to face the hostile criticisms to which all socialists and democrats have become accustomed for many years. Nevertheless, many of the comments recently made about a state only six months old have been unscrupulous.

The answer to this smear campaign could not have been better given than by the Ghana Cabinet in this new bill. Control of Government by Parliament, even in time of emergency, is absolutely guaranteed. Parliament must be summoned within ten days of the declaration of an emergency and must approve emergency regulations within 28 days or they will lose effect. Government is to have no power either to suspend the constitution or to extend the life of Parliament. Fears raised by Mr. Edusei of arbitrary powers of deportation and the setting up of special courts have thus been allayed.

Economics in Central Africa

By AUSTEN ALBU, M.P.

HOWEVER enterprising the original pioneers who laid the foundations of what is now the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to-day the majority of white immigrants and investors in that country are seeking the lush pastures created by copper at £400 a ton. It is said that the Federation was founded on a copper price of £230 a ton and whether the boom it has been enjoying can continue now that it has fallen below that figure is causing officials in Salisbury some doubts; although the long-term trend of world demand and a cost of production well below the latest price are leaving the mining companies themselves reasonably confident.

The evidence of the boom is to be seen in the cities of the Federation, in which it is impossible to stand on a street corner and not see two or three handsome skyscrapers, intended as offices or flats, in course of erection. It is difficult to understand on what all this building is based, for manufacturing industry still plays a minor role in the country's economy, agriculture, except for tobacco, is largely confined to the home market, and is suffering from a surplus of subsidised maize, while copper contributed last year nearly two-thirds of the country's export earnings.

Investment and Tax Evasion

Some of the finance for this building is no doubt from internal sources; some comes from insurance companies in the United Kingdom; but there is also a substantial contribution from highly unorthodox sources overseas. A newsletter well known for its reactionary views, not least about the Federation, circulates to its subscribers particulars of a Land Purchasing Trust, incorporated in the Bahamas, whose board of directors is almost identical with its own and invites subscriptions for the purpose of buying sites in Salisbury and erecting buildings on them, for which it offers hopes of a return of 9½ per cent. Needless to say this is based on the highly speculative expectation that all the flats and offices will find tenants and that costs, for instance of a single African porter for a block of 17 flats at a wage of £75 a year, will remain constant. It also takes account of the Trust's charges for 'administration' of 10 per cent.

The effects of this type of investment, of which this Trust is only one example, are highly inflationary and are causing considerable anxiety among responsible people in the Federation. Land prices, building costs and rents have already risen substantially. The common view is that this is money escaping high taxation and death duties at home and is part of the general attempt by some people to obtain for themselves a return for their capital or their work, much in excess of what they are worth and dependent on the maintenance of an enormous differential between European and African incomes. It is ironical, but

not perhaps surprising, that, while this relatively useless investment is going on, the Federal government cannot raise money in London for needed development work and insufficient capital is forthcoming to establish genuine productive enterprises.

The desire for a standard of living based not on one's contribution to the economy but on the colour of one's skin also motivates many present day immigrants. The Federal government restricts immigration to a total of 2,300 non-Africans a month and in theory only admits those with special skills. In practice this qualification is interpreted pretty loosely to cover salesmen and clerks as well as technicians and skilled workers. Many of the skilled and semi-skilled jobs which immigrants do are well within the competence of Africans to learn, but they are prevented from doing so by the resistance of the European trade unions to African apprenticeship. The attitudes of the unions on the copper belt are well known but they are no different from those of Rhodesian railway or building workers although there has been some relaxation in printing and engineering. The report of the Native Education Inquiry Commission, made in Southern Rhodesia in 1951, drew attention to this occupational colour bar and pointed out that the section of the Industrial Conciliation Act which requires African workers to receive wages and conditions not less than those of European skilled workers is, in consequence, mere humbug. As the Select Committee on the Native Industrial Workers' Unions Bill, under the chairmanship of Mr. Garfield Todd, pointed out, it is not the ability of the African to compete for Europeans' work but his lower conventional standard of life which is the threat to the latter's position.

It is this enormous difference between black and white standards which gives rise to the extraordinary anomaly that the demand for equal pay for equal work is a threat to African economic advance; for it is a demand that the African should pay for the goods and services which he needs at European costs inflated by a wage differential between skilled and unskilled work of 20 to 1 or more, maintained very largely by the colour bar. Outside the municipalities in Southern Rhodesia, where the Native Engineering Department may employ African artisans at rates of wages more commensurate with normal African incomes, schools for Africans can be built at half the cost for equivalent standards. In view of the great need for expansion of African education this is a great advantage.

Steps are being taken in all three territories to provide more vocational and technical training for Africans in schools and the growth of a class of skilled African worker is bound to reduce the gap between black and white wages as well as the differentials for skilled work. If the Federation is to develop industries apart from mining, this can only be done on the basis of a growing African market.

for the European market, in spite of immigration, will remain much too small to support them.

Such industries can only grow if Africans are allowed to man them, at wages bearing a reasonable relationship to African incomes generally, and increasingly to fill the higher ranks in the economic ladder. There will soon be no place in the Federation for European immigrants who are not able to

bring with them technical or administrative skills higher than those which Africans are yet in a position to provide and this level is bound to rise as Africans advance. It is not surprising that many of those without such skills, going to the Federation to-day to enjoy a standard of living based solely on the colour of their skins, soon join the ranks of the most reactionary elements in the white population.

Progress in Tanganyika

By ARTHUR SKEFFINGTON, M.P.

I WAS fortunate to be able to re-visit Tanganyika after an absence of nine years. I expected to find many changes and indeed in some respects it was like visiting another territory. For instance, the towns of Moshi, Arusha and Morogoro had grown out of all recognition. Equally marked was the economic, social and political change and well it might be for in 1948 most of us had the feeling that the territory was only just ticking over.

The reasons for this malaise are well known to readers of VENTURE. Between the wars, Tanganyika's future was uncertain, indeed a vocal section at home clamoured for it to be returned to Germany. The quality of some of the higher officials was certainly not of the required calibre. The more gifted of the colonial civil service went elsewhere. Capital in sufficient volume had never been forthcoming.

Increase in Production

The economic developments in the period since my last visit have been extensive, and seem to me to be quite at variance with much of the criticism of the United Tanganyika Party. These figures are impressive:

Between 1947 and 1956 the production of sisal has increased by 76 per cent (185,000 tons), coffee by 31 per cent (20,700 tons), cotton by 232 per cent (23,000 tons), tea by 293 per cent (2,400 tons), tobacco by 249 per cent (2,060 tons), sugar by 140 per cent (18,000 tons), and copra by 677 per cent (7,000 tons). The production of diamonds is up 289 per cent, and the production of lead concentrates which were nil in 1947 is now running at 14,250 tons.

Another yardstick is the number of companies registered. In 1947 it was 612, in 1956, 1,544. The tonnage entering ports was 1,950,000 tons in 1947: In 1956 it was 5,122,000 tons.

Readers of this journal will know of recent political developments. Considerable problems have to be faced in securing the fair participation of all races in the constitutional future of the territory. The dynamic of natural aspiration is already at work. Wise statesmanship must see that the large African population and its good will expressed so well in the personality of its leader Julius Nyerere is harnessed to the full in the political and social progress of Tanganyika, and not ignored and frustrated. The two most promising ways to secure this good will are to be found, I am sure in the co-operative

organisations and local government. Local government provides the opportunities for all races to learn the problems of administration in the most intimate way and at the same time to realise what are the possibilities of bringing improvements to one's people in the place where they live. Throughout the rural areas the functions of local government are generally administered by native authorities who have jurisdiction over the people there. These arrangements are authorised by powers given under the Native Authority Ordinance. The Local Government Ordinance of 1953 made provision for county councils as well as local councils to be set up in rural areas. There are more than 2,000 existing Native Authorities, often with an elected element, making bye-laws and rules and having an income from which they are able to frame their own estimates and expenditure. Their services include primary education, agriculture, marketing, veterinary services, health and water supplies, and roads. In the larger towns there is a Local Government organisation covering small townships and the large city. Local elections will take place for the towns of Arusha, Morogoro and Dar-es-Salaam next year from a limited franchise in which the qualifications are age, residence and property. I can see no reason why in the towns the elections should not be at once on a full adult suffrage. This would enable everyone to get used to the idea of voting and would prevent the considerable feelings which arise now when not only large numbers of Africans are excluded but also many adult sons and daughters of other races living with their parents. As in England, there is a real enthusiasm for local government work by Africans, Asians and Europeans although it is true some difficulty is experienced in finding sufficient Europeans willing to serve. I would like to see a very rapid expansion of municipal elections even in small townships. This, together with the Native Authorities would be one way of stimulating interest in civic affairs and creating democratic responsibilities.

The other encouraging and indeed extremely satisfying development has been in the field of co-operation. Tanganyika has a record in this matter of which any territory could be proud and which received its stimulation from the Labour Government. I had noticed with interest and appreciation what was being done in 1948 in this field but there has been a vast expansion since then. There are

now 410 co-operative societies in Tanganyika, with an African membership of 278,000 and about 3,000 Asians and 500 Europeans. The turn-over is now £10m. with surplus and reserves of £1½m. The overwhelming number of societies is concerned with agricultural marketing, the most important being based on coffee and cotton. Here again, co-operation offers one of the best ways of associating Africans with their own advancement. Furthermore, the co-operative society is in some respects very much like a tribal organisation and suits the habits of the people. By communal association the factor of personal exploitation is removed and those in the society are able to see year by year the growth of their own enterprise by their own efforts. Perhaps the best and most vivid example I saw this time was the Mount Meru Coffee Co-operative Society which is but three years old. For 20 years the people on that mountain have been growing and attempting to sell coffee. They were often exploited and the price was nearly always very low: at the best not more than 1s. a pound. To-day through the Co-operative they are able to receive 3s. a pound for coffee. There are 4,000 members already, collecting about 450 tons of the best parchment coffee. The society is buying implements and simple machinery centrally for its members and has even invested in a breeze block machine which makes bricks for the little coffee sheds which its members like to have. Perhaps most touching of all was that even at this stage there was an education fund of £700. All this has been achieved by a people unused to co-operative methods. The secretary incidentally was going to attend the new special course, which the Government deserves full credit for initiating, on co-operation at the local government school at Muzumbi in the Eastern Province. I greatly enjoyed visiting this school which is designed to teach to co-operative officials the elements of book-keeping, the duties of secretaries, something about the law and a brief history of co-operation, its origin in Britain and the position it occupies in the world to-day. The enthusiasm of the first ten students was a joy to behold and points the way to wonderful possibilities in the future.

Achievement of the Chagga

The Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union is, of course, a very much larger affair which has been established over 20 years and now consists of 34 societies all producing coffee from the rich lands of that mountain. The revenue from coffee this year was over £3m. It now has its own coffee curing works and magnificent buildings which dominate the town of Moshi. When completed, they will include a theatre, cinema, exhibition hall. Already the Coffee Tree Restaurant is one of the best in Tanganyika at which members of all races can enjoy a good inexpensive meal. The latest venture has been the creation of its own college of commerce with separate buildings which have now been open a year. This has been done without a penny of government money. Already 90 students are taking full day courses and there are some hundreds of evening students. The organisation of coffee resources by the co-operative method has enabled

the Chagga people to reach a high level of living and to have the best schools¹ and hospitals anywhere in Tanganyika.

Practically everywhere in Tanganyika the co-operatives are a success, but of course there are one or two co-operatives which may not survive, sometimes because the commodity is unsuitable or not exploited on a sufficient scale and sometimes because of the lack of experience of those running the venture. It seems to me that the time has now come when all co-operative enterprises in Tanganyika should be invited to form their own Co-operative Union. Such a body could give not only technical assistance but financial assistance to societies in difficulty and by being in contact through the Co-operative Alliance with the movement elsewhere provide further opportunities for development and for the growth of the co-operative movement itself. The Government might well invest financially in this proposition.

To sum up then, Tanganyika has certainly many problems, but great possibilities. The brilliant young scientists working in mineralogy and in agriculture have given some evidence of its potentialities². Given the right political leadership which will provide for the growing participation of all races on equal terms in the development of Tanganyika, I think the future is bright, but time is an essential consideration. At the moment there is massive African good will but delay and frustration could turn that into rampant nationalism. The decision of the Governor to offer both Mr. Nyerere and Mr. Kawawa, the Trade Union leader, seats on the Legislative Council was I think a wise gesture and its acceptance was sensible by the individuals concerned. I should like to see next, as I have already indicated, growing development in local government and co-operative activity followed by a common electoral roll for all Tanganyika and, with the agreement of all races, some approximate time-table for further constitutional development. I hope these matters will be in train soon for I believe the greatest danger of all in Tanganyika is to move too slowly.

CENTRAL AFRICA

We wish to draw readers' attention to a leaflet³ published by the Africa Bureau, which examines the background to and the implications of the Constitution Amendment Bill recently passed by the Parliament of the Central African Federation and reserved for the Royal Assent because the African Affairs Board considers it to be a differentiating measure. The Bill was debated in the House on 25th November and it is of vital importance that the British public should fully understand the principles at issue.

¹ Of 36,000 children of school age in Chaggaland, 33,000 are in school.

² One research worker has succeeded in producing a variety of cotton plant which will yield a 25 per cent increase in cotton.

³ *Central Africa and the British Government*. Obtainable from Africa Bureau, 65, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1, price 4d. post free.

Common Sense in British Guiana

By T. E. M. McKITTERICK

LOOKING back to the disaster of 1953, it is almost incredible that British Guiana should now be a country with an elected government and a constitutional opposition. True, under the Renison constitution the powers of the government are still limited and the Governor himself is still in charge. But many of the fears expressed even a few months ago have proved groundless, and the state of affairs at this moment is a triumph for common sense on the part of almost everyone concerned. Given a continuance of the goodwill which the successful outcome of the elections has built up, there seems to be no reason why the next stage in constitutional advance should not be reached fairly soon.

Majority in Legislative Council

The constitution provided for 14 elected seats in the Legislative Council, plus three officials, and the Governor was empowered to nominate up to eleven more; thus in theory the number of non-elected members could be equal to the number of those elected. As a result of the polling on 12th August, Dr. Jagan's wing of the People's Progressive Party won nine seats, which was a majority of the elected and official members together, but not of the total possible strength of the Council. The Governor accepted the result of the election (and was not influenced by the fact that the Jaganites, while securing a substantially larger vote than any of the other parties, did not quite get a majority of the total votes cast), and called on Dr. Jagan to form a government from his own party, and then ensured it a majority in the Legislative Council by nominating only five members, chosen carefully from men who were not heavily committed against Dr. Jagan. The resulting composition of the Council is that out of 22 members Dr. Jagan's P.P.P. provides nine and can rely on the support of the three officials as members of the Government; there are three Burnhamites, two from the other parties, and five nominated from a list mutually agreed between Dr. Jagan and the Governor. Presumably the Governor can still nominate six more members, and so swamp Dr. Jagan's majority, if things go sufficiently badly wrong, but he evidently has no intention of doing so.

Both the election campaign and the actual polling passed off quietly, and reports of trouble which appeared in the foreign Press can be totally dismissed. If there was a disturbing feature, it was the racialist element which crept into the campaign; the Jagan-Burnham split did in the end become partly racial, and the Carter and Luckhoo parties were fighting on more or less racial tickets in spite of their vigorous denials that this was so. Electoral organisation was considerably better among Dr. Jagan's Indian supporters on the sugar estates than among the other parties, and the Burnhamites lost at least two seats by failing to get their supporters out to vote in constituencies where they were probably in a majority.

Over the whole country the poll was under 60 per cent, which must be regarded as rather disappointing even though there were some excuses for it.

These excuses include three technical points which, one hopes, will be avoided in future elections in British Guiana as well as in other countries where the same difficulties are likely to arise. In the first instance, the registration system left a lot to be desired; it was based on the 1953 register of electors, and people were expected to re-apply for the vote, with the result that some people believed that if they had not voted in 1953 (though they were on the register) they were not entitled to do so in 1957. Secondly, there were—an unusual complaint—far too many polling stations and it was far too difficult to find out where to vote; the parties did their best to help on this, but lacked the organisation to help everyone. The third point is perhaps more serious. True to the traditional British belief that political parties do not exist, but abandoning the practice followed in British Guiana in 1953, the authorities insisted that the symbols used on the ballot papers should be allocated to candidates in alphabetic order: thus the symbol indicating a Jagan candidate in one constituency might indicate a Burnhamite in the next, and so on, with the result that quite a lot of preventable confusion arose. If (and I do not suggest it) there was any deep-laid plot on the part of the authorities to weaken party influence by this means, it certainly backfired; the only result of these confusions was to strengthen the party with the best organisation, which was undoubtedly Dr. Jagan's.

Large Area of Agreement

The tone taken by the parties during the campaign was remarkably mild, and in sharp contrast to 1953. Everyone, including Dr. Jagan, emphasised the importance of pushing ahead with the economic development of the colony even to the point where this involved the calling in of private capital from abroad, and both the Jaganites and the Burnhamites specifically disavowed any intention of expropriating the foreign sugar and bauxite companies which at present account for well over half the economic activity of the country. (After the election Dr. Jagan went even further, and accepted the vice-chairman of the Bookers Group Committee in Georgetown as one of the five nominated members of the Legislative Council.) It seemed to be generally agreed that British Guiana should remain in the Commonwealth as an independent member, and even Dr. Jagan did not exclude the possibility of bringing the country into the Caribbean Federation at a later stage provided the Federation has fully independent status—a proviso which may be a let out in case he cannot persuade his Indian followers to accept federation, but one which does not reduce the importance of his refusal to condemn the idea out of hand. In effect the campaign was less of a battle between rival pro-

grammes than an invitation to the electorate to choose the leader and the party they preferred, and if this led to a degree of racialism Dr. Jagan was quick to appoint a Negro member of his party to a ministerial post immediately after the election.

In the days which followed, several constitutional points which had been obscure before were cleared up. Following the precedent set in Trinidad eleven months earlier, it seems to have been accepted that the three official members (the Colonial Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Attorney-General) should be included in the general rule of collective responsibility of the government, which means that they are expected to support it in the Legislative Council. Another point on which the Trinidad precedent was followed was the selection of nominated members; no defeated candidates were appointed, and no members of the outgoing interim government (though one had been a member at an earlier stage). Consequently Dr. Jagan, while not controlling the votes of the nominated members, can be reasonably sure that they will not be used to defeat him.

Chance for Democracy

It cannot be said that the present system is fully democratic. Dr. Jagan is not Chief Minister, but leader of the party which provides the members of the Government; the actual head of the Government is the Governor himself. In addition, there are still extensive reserved powers, and the Governor has the right of dismissal. But for all that it is an encouraging advance on the interim constitution which had been in force since 1953. What is probably more important than the mere constitutional provisions is that people now give the impression of wanting to make the new system work. Although Dr. Jagan's team is young and inexperienced, they are less likely to repeat the mistakes of his previous experiment in government, and he himself fully grasps that the quickest way of reaching the next stage is to make a success of the present one. Mr. Burnham is now the leader of a constitutional opposition, and shows no sign of wanting unreasonably to hamper the government in its work. Even the severest critics of both of them, who believe that their moderation is merely a matter of waiting till the moment comes for a return to revolutionary tactics, are compelled to admit that the working of democracy may become a habit and revolution lose its appeal.

There can be no real solution for the problems of British Guiana until a great deal more is spent on development and until some ideas on its methods are changed. Unlike many of the poorer colonial territories, it is capable of development, and capable eventually of carrying a much larger population than it does now—a fact of great importance when one considers its possible significance for the Caribbean Federation. The cost of effective development will be heavy—heavier than Dr. Jagan realises—but it is something that must be done. Perhaps the most encouraging outcome of the election is that no one can now seriously argue that it ought not to be done.

COLONIAL BUREAU

A week-end school on 'Economic and Social Aid' was held at Beatrice Webb House, 25th-27th October. The first session was addressed by Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., who discussed the needs of the under-developed countries and the significance of the lead given by the Labour Party in promising to devote 1 per cent of the national income for this purpose. She emphasised the importance of persuading the British electorate that this allocation was right and necessary. Mr. E. F. Schumacher, formerly Economic Adviser to the Government of Burma, the next speaker, provoked lively interest by his thesis that aid often did more harm than good, that it should never be given but must be earned and that the pattern of life of the receiving country must not be disrupted. Mr. Derrick Sington, B.B.C. Far-Eastern correspondent, spoke on the part played by the Colombo Plan and made an assessment of its work. Professor Lionel Elvin, the director of the school, gave a valuable summing-up lecture in which he examined the contrasting arguments of Mr. Schumacher and the other speakers.

Study of Co-operatives

In 1945 the Fabian Colonial Bureau published 'Co-operation in the Colonies,' a survey of progress in co-operation in the dependent territories. As Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Creech Jones, initiated a policy of vigorous expansion and encouragement of the movement and this resulted in significant progress in many territories. Believing that we now need a comprehensive assessment of that progress and a review of policy, the Fabian Colonial Bureau and the British Co-operative movement have jointly embarked on a major project of research in this field. A working party has been set up which includes representatives of the Co-operative Union, the Co-operative Party and the International Co-operative Alliance. The Bureau warmly welcomes this opportunity of collaboration with the British Co-operative movement in this vitally important field.

Governor-General of Ghana

The Colonial Bureau and Labour Commonwealth Department gave a small sherry party on 5th November at 28 Brompton Square, S.W.1, by courtesy of Lord Faringdon, in honour of Lord Listowel before he left to take up his appointment as Governor-General of Ghana. Short speeches were made by the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P., Lord Listowel and Mr. J. E. Jantuah, the Acting High Commissioner of Ghana in London.

Meetings

Two meetings were held in the House of Commons in November. On the 19th, Mr. Arthur Skeffington, M.P., spoke on the current situation in Tanganyika, with special reference to co-operatives. On the 26th, Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., gave a talk on developments in Central Africa. Both speakers had recently visited these territories.

Parliament and the Colonies

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH

In the debate, Mr. Callaghan said that the African Affairs Board had declared the Constitutional Amendment Bill in **Central Africa** to be discriminatory and because it was the first time it had taken such a decision, the Africans were watching very closely to see what action the Government would take. Now that the Government had decided to rule against the Board, the consequence to the political stability of the Federation would be extremely serious. The Opposition would ask for a full day's debate on this matter in due course, but he thought it right to say straight away that they could not accept the Government's assessment of the situation. On **Cyprus**, Mr. Callaghan said that no discussions at all were going on. The Government should call representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to London and start discussions on how a representative Government could be set up. Surely it was worth the Government's while to discuss what Archbishop Makarios had said on minority safeguards and see how far, by means of proportional representation, international guarantees or any other proposals, they could get a representative Government going.

Mr. Dingle Foot drew attention to the question of human rights in **East and Central Africa**. He said that in November, 1956, a socialist conference had been held in Bombay and the organisers invited delegates from Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Uganda. In each case a passport was refused without any reason being given. A passport was originally a facility; now it had almost become an instrument of tyranny. There could be no possible justification for refusing facilities to three British protected persons who wanted to go overseas to engage in a perfectly proper and legitimate political activity. A more serious matter was the continued detention in **Kenya** of many thousands of people, some of whom had been detained for as long as four or five years without charge and without trial. He was not concerned with those who were candidates for rehabilitation, but with some of those referred to as the 'hard core,' who said that they had never taken part in Mau Mau activities. There were two classes of detainees, terrorists and political prisoners; the latter ought to be reviewed by someone with high judicial experience sent out from this country.

In **Northern Rhodesia**, leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union who had been arrested when a state of emergency was declared a little over a year ago, were still not allowed to return to their homes on the Copperbelt. He considered it had been a most questionable procedure to invoke the 1939 Order in Council and declare a state of emergency in order to deal with an industrial dispute. Another point to which Mr. Foot drew attention was the differences in the deportation laws in the various colonial territories. In all these matters, members must realise that responsibility rested with the House of Com-

mons. Quite certainly, they were never going to solve the problems of plural societies unless they were prepared to concede to all the colonial peoples the same standard of freedom and justice that they claimed for themselves. (Nov. 6.)

Government Service, Uganda. In reply to Mr. Stonehouse, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that apart from the provision of the secondary and higher educational facilities which formed the basis of any training, and apart from normal experience and training in lower grades leading to ordinary promotion on merit, Africans were trained for senior posts in a special training grade of the Civil Service and by the award of scholarships for further education overseas. At present there were 68 Africans in the professional and administrative grades; four African inspectors of police were acting as assistant superintendents for one year to test their suitability for promotion; and there were 26 Africans in the training grade. The qualifications required, such as academic attainments, experience and character, necessarily varied according to the nature of the post. (Oct. 29.)

Legal Aid in Hong Kong. In reply to Mr. Rankin, Mr. Profumo said that in 1956, 11,739 persons had appeared in the magistrates' courts, 246 in the district courts and 116 in the Supreme Court. It was estimated that about 600 people were legally represented in the magistrates' courts. It is known that 71 were legally represented in the district court and 24 in the Supreme Court. Mr. Rankin asked if he might take it from those figures that about 75 per cent of those tried in the Supreme Court were undefended. Was it not rather disturbing that in a British territory a person might be sentenced for life without having the chance of being defended, because he had no money. He asked the Minister to urge the Hong Kong Government to consider establishing a system of legal aid after the pattern of that in Singapore. Mr. Profumo replied that the possibility of increasing the provision of legal aid was at present under consideration by the Attorney-General in consultation with the Chief Justice. (Oct. 31.)

Redundancy in Malta Dockyard. Mr. Dodds asked if the Colonial Secretary was aware of the concern in Malta at the prospect of substantial redundancy in the dockyard; what were the prospects in this connection and what special efforts were being made to attract, if necessary, the repair of merchant shipping as well as light industries and to develop the tourist industry. Mr. Profumo said that this matter had been discussed at the current talks with the Maltese delegation. But final decisions had not yet been reached on long-term defence plans in relation to Malta and it had been agreed that before any final decisions were taken there would be discussions between the U.K. and Maltese Governments. Regarding the third part of the question, an announcement of the appointment of a Commission for the purpose would be made shortly. (Oct. 31.)

Guide to Books . . .

An African Survey

By Lord Hailey (Oxford University Press. £5 5s.)

LORD HAILEY has produced another Survey of Africa South of the Sahara—a remarkable achievement in itself. It is objective and comprehensive and for so dense a jungle of facts, events and tendencies, extremely clear and readable. His earlier Survey, done before the war, was recognised as a standard authoritative work which gave us a stocktaking of African affairs, urged the importance of research and expenditure of U.K. money on social development, and made a comparative study of the differing administrations of the colonial powers interested in Africa. This new Survey is something more than a revision made necessary by far reaching changes which the war and the new African spirit and post-war events have brought about. The subject is still Africa, but it is a different Africa in which new influences have been at work, new nation states have evolved, considerable social and economic development has taken place and the wine of new political ideas been fermenting. The picture of indirect rule and dormant tribes, of imperial overlordship and European ascendancy, of stratified society with immigrant communities and traditional structures, of primitive economies and backward life is dissolving in the transformation. A lucid report on this rapidly changing situation which takes in the voluminous scientific, technical, government and other literature published in the last 20 years and offers an estimate of the forces now compelling the creation of a new African world is welcome and important and makes the new Survey of incalculable value.

This then is a new work. In presentation, however, it is planned on much the same lines as the earlier work and leaves no subject out. But several points must be made. Lord Hailey won his earlier battle for soundly organised and co-ordinated research and the use of imperial funds and institutions immediately after the war. Experience has taught us now that further advance in the field must be made. The grants for new research end in 1960 and funds are not available for new schemes when dependencies emerge to independence. Urgent consideration of the matter is imperative.

The Survey also reveals that Africa has not yet abandoned its past. In Ghana the demand for adjustment between the traditional elements and those who would enforce a fully fledged western democracy is being decided while echoes of the conflict between tribalism and western ideas reach us from Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria and elsewhere. One hopes that the battle will not be determined in violence but it deepens the scepticism of those who believe that the political pace has been too fast and has not been caught up by social and economic development, of those who recognise that traditional

structures and habits of thought cannot suddenly be neglected when new political institutions are acquired. The sceptics add that the tests applied for independence these days are inadequate and that political calamity and economic confusion are likely to come to the inexperienced states when the imperial framework is withdrawn.

Another significant movement is the steady retreat from indirect rule as a result of educational and economic advances, western influences and the adoption of modern developments. Literacy and local initiative take on a new meaning as new forms of local and regional government oust the old political ideas and traditional procedures. Many Africans admire our own democratic system and some would wish that their own significant structures should be incorporated into the western models that they adopt. In any case their new institutions and practices should be tested in the light of their own economy and needs and not judged by ourselves in blinkers which have been made by our own history, experience and environment.

A number of interesting sections have been introduced into the Survey, one of which concerns the administrative service. The subject has received far too little thought from Socialists—a fact demonstrated in the territories emerging to self-government and in the need for using the best administrative and technical men available in territories afflicted by poverty and other intractable problems. There is also the question of promotion in the Services and the appointment of Governors.

One realises from the Survey the stimulating effect of inter-territorial exchanges and international interest. The growth of international committees and bodies operating in colonial and backward regions is remarkable. Both anti-colonialism and international interest are frequently misguided and much abuse dings one's ears at United Nations meetings. Nonetheless, the growth of an international conscience and a desire for forms of international aid and service towards under-developed countries has its virtues. Research and technical aid are probably more important contributions than grants in aid. There are still obstacles to the acceptance of the whole doctrine of international accountability, but there is desperate need to pull in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies for some kind of international criticism.

How long will this Survey be useful? Lord Hailey himself indicates some of the important papers and events which have a bearing on the future, but which could not be considered while the Survey was being published. The changes in Africa continue to accelerate and who can predict the future? Within the next decade the remnants of the British Empire in Africa

will be small and few—perhaps only Somaliland and the South African Protectorates. There are difficult struggles ahead in Kenya and Central Africa and the influence of the Asia-African bloc cannot be discounted. The Survey will help us in our discussions of these rapid developments by its accurate presentation of the facts as they are now known.

A. Creech Jones

The Labour Movement in the Sudan 1946-55.

By Saad el Din Fawzi (O.U.P., 25s.).

Chatham House is to be congratulated on the first of its Middle Eastern monographs, the object of which is to throw light upon 'the vast, rapid and continuing change in Middle Eastern society in modern times'. But Dr. Fawzi's work is much more than a Middle Eastern monograph; it presents the story of the rise of trade unions in the Sudan in such a way that the universal shines through the particular.

When the government or the people of a static society, or both of them, decide to refashion their state along Western capitalistic lines, one of the most fundamental changes involved is the introduction of a large measure of wage-earning, whether in agriculture or in industry. This change affects the whole structure of society, destroys many traditional relationships and radically modifies others, including even that between the government and the people.

It is difficult for those who have always lived in predominantly wage-earning societies to appreciate how revolutionary a change this is. It is easy for them to frown at the extremism and intransigence of workers' associations in countries where the change is recent, or still going on. But if they read Dr. Fawzi and reflect that the Sudanese trade union leaders of to-day are but one generation removed from millenia of following the oxen lifting water by a Persian wheel, the camels browsing from tree to tree, or the cattle grazing round an Equatorial swamp, they will see how startling it all is. Not the least important office of the book is the light it sheds upon the thought of these men, often illiterate, and grappling manfully with problems which Britain has not yet fully solved. It is not surprising that they may appear to find simple and attractive expression of their discontents in quasi-communist phrases.

Dr. Fawzi has eminent qualifications for his task. A Sudanese graduate of St. Andrew's and Oxford, and a Doctor of London University, he is yet in close touch with the people through sociological inquiries

and his teaching post at Khartoum University. He quotes with equal felicity from the Arabic press, from transactions of the unions and their federation, and, by permission, from government records, many of them confidential. His attitude is dispassionate and fair both to the former British administration and to the workers. His style is simple and direct. For the student of labour organisation and relations, the book is a fascinating analysis of conditions which occur in many lands under British control. For the sociologist, or for that matter the general reader, it helps to answer Charles Malik's reproach¹: 'It is very well for people to be 'interested' in the Near East. It is very well to think in terms of independence and of economic and social advance. But politics and economics will lead absolutely nowhere until these deeper issues are faced. Well-meaning goodwill will need not wonder why it does not always succeed.'

P. J. S.

The Farmer's Food Manual (Jamaica Agricultural Society, Maclehorse & Co., 30s.). The purpose of this symposium is to give the people of Jamaica, in simple terms, the knowledge they need to improve their poor diet and increase food production. It deals with all the foods in common use in Jamaica, describing their value in the diet and giving advice on the preparation of balanced meals; a large number of recipes is included. This very practical book should be welcome in other West Indian territories also; presumably it is intended mainly for use by teachers and welfare workers, since the housewife could not afford to buy it.

Mungo Park and The Locust (British Commonwealth Leaflets, C.O.I., H.M.S.O., 6d. each). These leaflets, which are two of a series, are mainly intended for use in information offices in the colonies. That on Mungo Park, the first European to reach the Niger, describes how he navigated it for more than 1,000 miles and explored a great area of unknown Africa. The other outlines the habits and areas of infestation of the locust, and the international measures in operation to control it.

¹*The Near East: The Search for Truth*, by Charles Malik. Published in the New York periodical *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1952. The author is, of course, the Lebanese philosopher and delegate of his country to the United Nations.

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